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MEMOIR

OF

DANIEL APPLETON WHITE,

BY GEORGE W. BRIGGS.

PREPARED BY REQUEST OF THE ESSEX INSTITUTE, AND READ AT THE MEETING OF JANUARY 11, 1864.

(From the Historical Collections of the Essex Institute.)

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MEMOIR.*

BOYHOOD AND YOUTH.

DANIEL APPLETON WHITE was born in that part of the old town of Methuen which is now included in the City of Lawrence, June 7th, 1776. His ancestor, William White, came to this country from Haverhill, Norfolk Co., England, in 1635, in company with Rev. Mr. Ward, the first minister of Haverhill, Mass. Mr. White first went to Ipswich, thence to Newbury; but finally settled at Haverhill. The place on which he built his house is still occupied by a lineal descendant, who bears the name of White, and has been in the possession of the family since the settlement of the town in 1640. William White died Sept. 28th, 1690, when about eighty years of age. John White, his descendant in the fifth generation, the father of the subject of this memoir, was born Feb. 7th, 1719–20. He removed to Methuen about the year 1772, and died July 11th, 1800. He was twice married; first to Mrs. Miriam Hazen, in 1753, by whom he had six children; and again to Elizabeth Haynes, the mother of Daniel, Feb. 18th, 1767. She had eleven children, of whom Daniel was the fifth.† Thirteen of this family of seventeen, had families of their own.

* The writer desires to refer to the admirable memoir of Judge White, by Rev. Dr. Walker, published in the proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, which contains many things of which he would have been glad to avail himself in this brief sketch, if they had not been already used by a far more skilful hand.

† The genealogy is as follows: John White, the only son of William and Mary White, married Hannah French, at Salem, Nov. 25th, 1662, and died Jan. 1st, 1668, at the age of 29 years. His only son, Capt. John White, was born March 8th, 1663-4. He married Lydia Gilman, of Exeter, Oct. 24th, 1687, and died Nov. 20th, 1727. He had a large family of fourteen children, one of whom, Timothy White, graduated at Harvard College in 1720. His fourth child, Deacon William White, the grandfather of Daniel, was born Jan. 18th, 1693-4, and died Dec. 11th, 1737. He [redacted]ried in Boston, June 12th, 1716, to Sarah Phillips, sister of Rev. Samuel Phillips, of An[redacted]

Daniel's childhood and youth were passed upon his father's farm until he went to Atkinson Academy, in June 1792, when he was just sixteen years old. In a charming autobiographical sketch written for his children, during a long illness, in the winter of 1836–7, and which he says he might never have found "time and opportunity to write in a state of health," he has drawn a delightful picture of his early life. It unveils the beauty of a genuine New England home. Everything conspired to make his boyhood and youth bright and happy. His father's farm was charmingly situated, stretching from the Spicket to the Merrimac, when both of those streams flowed on through level meadows, or rushed over falls and rocks, in their native grace and wildness. In the Salem Gazette of June 17th, 1796, Rev. Dr. Bentley gave a very enthusiastic account of a visit which he had then lately made to this part of Methuen, and of the beauty of the cascades and falls upon the rivers. The farm itself abounded in wood, as well as in finely cultivated fields; thus presenting a variety of beautiful scenery, with picturesque and delightful prospects. Birds flocked among the trees, and berries abounded in the pastures. A combination of circumstances was presented, so far as external nature was concerned, of which the subject of our memoir always spoke with delight and gratitude.

Other influences seemed equally propitious. These bright surroundings were a fit symbol of the home itself. His father's house was filled with young and loving hearts, and graced by the frequent presence of the most cultivated people in the neighborhood, of many of whom he gives attractive sketches, and of relatives from other places, and visitors to the town, who were welcomed with an abounding hospitality. It was presided over with a happy blending of wisdom and affection. He gives a picture of his parents in the following words:

"My father was a tall, erect and finely formed man; and with his handsome suit of snuff-colored cloth, which my mother caused to be annually manufactured for him, and his beaver hat, he always appeared in the character of a gentleman farmer. Well skilled in overlooking and directing the management of his farm, he did little more himself than sow the grain, which he could do better than any one else, and occasionally to follow the plough, and in Summer to stir up the hay. I speak of the time when I was a boy at home, and he was from sixty to seventy years of age. My mother, burdened with the care of a numerous and increasing family, manifested a devotion to her duties in the relation of wife and mother, above all praise. Though so much younger than my father, she seemed to me to be exactly suited to him in all respects, and he to her. I have no recollection of an unkind look or word that ever passed between them, though my father was not unfrequently roused to an indignant and somewhat harsh expression of his feelings in respect to others."

The features of his father's character, and its excellence, are still more distinctly stated in an Obituary Notice in the Mass. Mercury, in Boston, July 18th, 1800. After speaking of his peculiar fondness for rural occupations and domestic life, the writer says:—

"Born in affluence, he lived easy. Economy and industry were inherent virtues; but possessing a generous heart, he added not to his possessions. Riches were not his God, and money he esteemed only for its necessary uses. He possessed a strong mind, and a firm understanding. Cheerfulness was his constant companion. His heart overflowed at the reception of a friend. The poor have called him blessed. Courteous in his deportment; resolute in enterprise; just and quick in apprehension, but compassionate in temper; open and explicit in all his views, he lived respected and died happy."

With such parents, the spirit of the household must have been one of wisdom as well as love. There was a perfect toleration of all innocent youthful sports. The parents were strictly religious, connected with the Baptist denomination. But they were very careful to make no requisition upon the Sabbath, which would give their children gloomy associations with that day. The family were required to attend meeting, and read some chapters in the Bible. Still, both before and after Public Worship, they were permitted to walk over the farm and enjoy the influences of nature, and the loving intercourse of innocent and youthful hearts. The liberty of the household is thus described: "Our freedom in all respects was greater and more delightful, than that of any boys I ever knew, situated as we were." But there was a quiet authority, an omnipresent influence which drew those young hearts towards generous affections and Christian purposes. It was a power all the more effective, perhaps, because so seldom exerted in any direct, outward pressure. The theory of early education which the son states as his own ideal in later years, grew out of the life of that Methuen home. It was a theory which recognized the fact, that "the spontaneous life, in its own time and place, is as sacred as the reflective and moral life;" a theory that aimed to avoid "the excess of regulation and discipline, as much as the opposite extreme of indulgence," and which, while it insisted upon "implicit obedience as the indispensable foundation of character, endeavoured to allow nature free scope in unfolding and maturing all her generous feelings and principles." It was the power of character, the beauty of holiness, rather than direct authority, which moulded the lives in his early home. These spiritual forces certainly did their work upon himself. In his case, "the boy was father of the man." The features of his manhood distinctly unfold themselves in the picture which he draws of his youth; and we feel that he not only speaks the simplest truth when he says, "Innocence and simplicity had not

deserted me, certainly, when, at the age of sixteen, I left home for the Academy and the College," but that these graces became so inwrought into his character amid the benign influences of his early home that they never deserted him, and accompanied him as angels on either hand till he passed on to a new and still higher youth.

Only two troubles clouded his youthful days. The first and greatest of these came from his questionings upon the subject of religion. Those questionings began at a very early date. From his childhood he had been accustomed to read the Bible; and he had read it through before he was eight years old. Many of its narratives made a deep impression upon his imagination. He associated the characters in the Bible with persons of the same name whom he knew. Joseph was the image of his own brother Joseph. "Stephen, the first martyr, looked like Stephen Sargent, the older son of a neighbor." The father of the Prodigal Son bore the image of his own father, and the elder brother that of his brother John. "And so," he says, "they have since appeared." He gave "a local habitation," also, to the scenes of sacred history, by fixing upon some spot upon the farm, which seemed suited to the transaction represented. Thus both his mind and his imagination were early filled with religious thoughts and associations. Though eminently social and cheerful in temperament, both in early and later life, he possessed a thoughtful nature, and had a peculiar interest in religious exercises, even in his boyhood. The following extract from his Journal gives a striking proof of this:

"I remember that the day I was eleven years old, June 7, 1787, there was the raising of a parsonage house, for Mr. Williams, a great occasion for boys, and the funeral of a Mrs. Frye, three or four miles off, and that while others went to the raising, I walked to the funeral in preference, and back to the graveyard, nearly as far."

He mentions also the funeral of a young married friend not long after wards,—a great favorite of his on account of her beauty, and kindness to him, which affected him deeply. With characteristic candor, he says, "The excitement and sympathy felt on these solemn occasions afforded me, I suppose, something of the sort of pleasure derived from witnessing the pathetic scenes of a tragedy; and this may in part account for my desire to attend them." But he truly adds, "It was doubtless owing in part to their being in accordance with my religious feelings."

A nature so predisposed to thoughtfulness, to which the scenes and characters of Sacred History became real by constant reading of the Bible; a nature unfolded in the atmosphere of a religious home, where he heard the con-

versation of the ministers who were such frequent guests at his father's house, must have been open to intense religious impressions. But they came in a form that profoundly tried him. His parents belonged to the "New Lights," as they were then termed, and fully sympathized with the doctrines of Whitefield; and the idea became impressed upon the boy's mind that the true religion could only be gained by a miraculous change of heart, without which the soul must be forever lost. He says:

"Everything conspired to deepen these awful impressions, and to produce in my mind a full conviction that such, and such only, were the true doctrines of Christianity. I well remember that it seemed astonishing that we should be unable to do anything to save our souls from perdition, when we were so constantly commanded in the Bible to exert ourselves for the purpose; to strive to enter in at the strait gate, and were promised a reward for our endeavors. But these expressions were explained away in a manner which I did not think of questioning. We could not strive, or knock, or even ask aright, without the suggestions and aid of the Holy Spirit. Hence, at about the age of twelve or fifteen, I was reduced to a state of most distressing perplexity, almost despair, as to my future condition."

Many persons trained in these New England homes have known an experience similar to his. Happily the profound impressions already made upon his heart became an anchor amid the agitations of his thought, and held him in true loyalty to religion itself, in the struggles of his youth and early manhood, until after a number of years he dared fully to trust the convictions which had then begun to form themselves in his mind. At one time he says, that "he does not know what might have been the fate of his christian faith, if he had not found some satisfactory substitute for these first convictions. Perhaps it might have been wholly wrecked." But a mind like his was sure to find a satisfactory substitute. When the heart is penetrated by a reverence and awe for religious truth, faith cannot suffer wreck. If Priestly's writings, which he read with so much interest when an under graduate, or the writings of other men, had not helped to a solution of his difficulties, the workings of truth, the teachings of experience, and the leadings of the divine spirit, must have brought him to a settled faith. In religious things, indeed, as in other respects, his manhood was the natural development of his early character. He says, "It is remarkable how little have changed my impressions as then received of Jesus, and his disciples, by subsequent reading and reflection. The divine superiority of Jesus to his disciples, and all other men, was then clear to me, as it has been ever since." His character and training pre-determined the faith in which he finally rested; the faith "which permitted, and taught

him to behold in his Creator a kind and beneficent father; in his Savior, an infallible guide, teacher and friend; and in the Holy Spirit a sure and never failing reward for every sincere endeavor to do the will of God, to improve his gifts, and fulfil the law of love to his creatures." God graciously led him out of all his doubts to a religion whose final expression was, "My reliance is upon the mercy of God in Jesus Christ, and my own repentance for sin, which I know I have felt for years; and therefore I have perfect trust and peace."

The only other trouble of his youthful days grew out of his great desire to obtain a public education. This seemed very doubtful for a long time. Although his father was in easy circumstances, with his family of seventeen children, it was difficult to meet the expense of sending one of his sons to the University. But this difficulty was happily solved. In his earlier school-days Daniel was behind the other boys; and he describes the mortification which he felt upon one occasion, on that account. But he soon outstripped them by diligent application, and therefore became a favorite with his various instructors. One of them, a somewhat eccentric man, when he had taken the foot of the spelling-class in consequence of detention at home by sickness, but was so fortunate as to regain his usual place at the head on the first evening, ordered a general clapping of hands of the whole school. It was a compliment which seems to have been repeatedly awarded him. His first severe illness was occasioned by his devotion to study. After having been hard at work with the men in the woods in Winter, he came home and got into the bedroom window to perform sums in Arithmetic, which, as he expresses it, was then his hobby. He thus became, unconsciously, so thoroughly chilled, that the consequence was a dangerous fever. But such diligence had its reward, and on the 11th of June, 1792, he was sent to Atkinson Academy, then under the charge of Mr. Silas Dinsmoor, a graduate of the previous year, and an excellent instructor. He had a permit to enter from Rev. Stephen Peabody, one of the Trustees, whose eminent character and services were both so gratefully, and so gracefully depicted by the late Rev. Dr. Gilman in the Christian Examiner for May, 1847, and whose constant friendship he always enjoyed. Here, too, he secured the marked favor of his teachers. His efforts were unwearied, and his progress very rapid. When he studied fourteen, fifteen, and sometimes sixteen hours a day, we scarcely wonder that he could recite four hundred lines in the Georgics, and sometimes seven hundred at a lesson, or, on a review, one thousand to thirteen hundred in the Æneid. By this diligence he read the whole Greek Testament in five and a half weeks, and prepared for College in seven and a half months. On account of such conscientious devotion, his teachers allowed

him to study in his own room, and to recite with others, or by himself, as might be best for his progress.

Such severe application was beyond his strength. But his mind and character developed rapidly amidst the excitements of the Academy, and the influences of the society of Atkinson. He was naturally very diffident, and he entirely broke down in his first attempt at declamation. But this failure, of which he gives an amusing description, roused him to such resolute efforts, that three or four months later, at the public exhibition, he was able to speak in a crowded Church, with complete self-possession. That resolute struggle was a true type of his character. The same diffidence was conquered in society, in his intercourse with young ladies, both in and out of the school, with whom he formed some friendships that ended only with life. When speaking of this year in Atkinson, forty years afterwards, he says, "Never, I believe, have I been able to look back upon a year with a more grateful and satisfied feeling." He left Atkinson with many regrets, taking an affectionate leave of the many friends from whom he had received such marked and uniform kindness, and entered Cambridge after an honorable examination, with "a heart full of gratitude to his parents for their efforts and sacrifices" to gratify his darling wish, and with a determination "to exert every power to prevent any waste of money upon his education; and to secure to them an ultimate reward and satisfaction." His father sent him away with his benediction, and with his earnest instructions to avoid all bad company; closing his advice with these words of wisdom, words then and always faithfully heeded, and beautifully verified: "Keep none but good company, and you will always have good company to keep."

COLLEGE LIFE.

He entered College in July, 1793. His autobiographical sketch gives a minute account of his four years at Cambridge, often presenting details of his daily studies and occupations, together with incidental descriptions of the state of society, the manners and morals of the time, both in the University and the community. In some respects life in College was then especially perilous. He tells us there was literally no society for the students in the town of Cambridge, and that he has no recollection of having entered a single house as a visitor, while an under graduate, and but very few when a tutor, excepting those of the College Officers. Neither the people of the town, nor the instructors, who had families, encouraged any social intercourse with the students, excepting in cases of family connection, or particular acquaintance. There was nothing to refine the tastes and manners, and thus indirectly, yet powerfully, to improve

the moral tone of the students. Meanwhile, positively unfavorable influences were not wanting. The power of the licentious principles of the period of the French Revolution was at its height. Those principles had a great and insiduous attraction for the minds of ardent young men. The custom of using ardent spirits, also, was fearfully prevalent. The punch bowl was held to be indispensable in the social circle, especially among young men. Under such circumstances it was natural that disorderly actions, and disgraceful tumults, should frequently occur among the students. Neither is it strange, though so sad, that, as he states in his Journal, nearly one fourth of every class should have "become sots," "lost to themselves and to the world, in consequence of indulging in the use of intoxicating drinks early in life, and principally in the College itself,"—"a terrible sacrifice," to use his own striking words, "of the intellect, the genius, the literature, the moral and religious principle and feeling of the country."

In all respects he bore the ordeal nobly. Though his religious opinions remained for a long time unsettled, his religious convictions seem to have become clear and fixed during his college days. He clung to the Christian faith; and already, though perhaps unconsciously, a vow of fidelity and consecration had been recorded in his heart. His political views, too, became distinct and settled. He was always loyal to the idea of liberty; but the tendencies and character of his mind were such, that he was utterly disgusted by the excesses and madness of the French people. His whole nature fitted him to be profoundly influenced by the character of Washington; to appreciate his calm wisdom; to recognize the great qualities that made him the model of public and private virtue; and it is scarcely too much to say, that he himself became an embodiment of the spirit of that great administration of liberty combined with order, of genuine patriotism and public virtue, amidst all the political changes which occurred during his long life. His moral integrity was untouched. He took no part in the carousals in which the students frequently indulged. In respect to one in which his class was engaged, he modestly says:

"I recollect feeling glad that I was excusable in the opinion of all for not joining in the scene,"(on account of the death of a near relative not long before,) "for otherwise it might have required more of the spirit of independence than the occasion would have called forth in me to refuse joining, however I might have wished to refuse."

That spirit of independence was not wanting when it was demanded. Upon one occasion, when the class were inclined to adopt some high handed measures in respect to an Examination, he sturdily opposed them, although he

incurred hisses and insults for his independence; and finally succeeded in defeating their mad and foolish scheme. He was desirous of the approbation of those around him; but if his action involved a principle, his resolution was invincible, and it was impossible to make him consciously untrue.

His whole course in College was highly honorable. He was thoroughly conscientious in his devotion to study. He seems to have excelled in composition. We take the following extract from his diary;

"Carried up new themes, and received corrected those on "Multa petentibus, multa desunt," or Avarice, which brought us sixteen double marks. A double mark, by the way, was two strokes of the pen, under the name of the writer of the theme, indicative of excellence. One line was always drawn under the name, and sometimes no one in the class had more than one. It so happened that whenever there was a double mark on any theme, mine did not escape it. It was a small affair, but of some interest to me at the time."

It was this persistent fidelity alike in little and greater duties, which gave him such a distinguished rank in his class. The requisitions of College studies did not content him. He read extensively in History, and in general Literature, during the regular terms. Vacations also, although partly devoted to social visiting, which he greatly enjoyed, gave constant proof of his love of reading, and his desire for knowledge. We give a memorandum of the general reading of one term, and a part of one vacation:

"Putnam's Life; Franklin's Life and Essays; Haley's Poetical Essay on History; Longinus on the Sublime; Minot's History of the Insurrection; Philosophical Survey of the Animal Creation; Priestley's Lectures on History and General Policy; several of Lady Montagu's Letters; Fitz Osborne's Letters; Montesquieu's Persian Letters, and Pope's Essay on Man."

Locke, Shakespeare, Robertson's Histories, the Spectator, together with other books of the highest order, are frequently named in his notes of his vacation readings.

The only thing to be regretted in his College Course, was his excessive application. Both at Atkinson and at Cambridge, he neglected necessary exercise in the open air, in his devotion to books. This was his besetting sin. At one time, a classmate, Hon. James Richardson of Dedham, sent him a poetical epistle to dissuade him from such excessive study,—a few lines of which are given in his diary. The vigor of his constitution enabled him to bear this severe trial of its strength without entirely breaking down; and he went through the University with only two or three brief periods of sickness, in one of which Channing watched with him, and of whom he speaks as showing all the softness and delicacy of manners that would become a woman in at-

tending upon the sick. But his health became impaired for years, and was almost sacrificed; and it is very interesting to see how careful he always was in letters to his son in later years, and in his advice to others, both young and old, to warn them against a similiar mistake.

But a life so nobly faithful in all other respects, could not fail to be delightful. Passages in his Journal, written at the close of a term, or the beginning of a new College year, give ample proof of his thorough enjoyment of the University. His relations with his classmates were intimate and cordial. They repeatedly honored him by selecting him as their Orator on various occasions. He was chosen to give a eulogy on his classmate, Wellington, who was drowned in Fresh Pond, in the early part of the Senior year. It was given, he says, "in the College Chapel, early in December, before the government and students, and with more heart-feeling than any other College exercise I was ever called to perform." He gave the Valedictory of his class to the Speaking Club — an association for mutual improvement, in which he took a great interest. At the close of his Junior year, he was appointed to give an oration on the Birth-day of Washington, Feb. 22nd, 1796, at the first celebration of the Hasty Pudding Club, of which he was one of the founders, but was prevented from giving it, in consequence of his being at Andover at that time, engaged in teaching school. He was therefore reäppointed to give an Anniversary oration before the Club, in the following September. He was the first of his class elected a member of the Phi Beta Kappa Society. He was also chosen to prepare an English oration for the Class Day. Previously to that time, the usual performances had been a Latin Oration and a Poem. He declined this honor, partly, perhaps, because it was an innovation; and as the class were unable to unite upon any one else, that part was omitted. In speaking of his College life, and his relations with his classmates, he says, "The various associations formed among ourselves added to the interest of our individual pursuits." And again, about the time of the formation of the Hasty Pudding Club, he says, "The still increasing intimacy with favorite and beloved classmates, and the new associations formed with them, afforded me the truest enjoyment."

He graduated in 1797, with the highest honors of his class. The assignment of the parts for Commencement called forth feelings which were as honorable to him as his fidelity to College duties. The Class had long awarded the two English Orations to Horace Binney and himself. He believed that Binney had the highest claims; and when the first part was assigned to him,

he did not for some time enjoy the honor, because he felt that it belonged to another. He bears the most generous testimony respecting his rival and friend.

"Binney," he says, "could not but have thought himself entitled to the first honors of the Class, yet he conducted with perfect magnanimity on the occasion, and with great delicacy as respected me, and thereby, in no small measure, enhanced my esteem and affection for him. If he felt that injustice had been done to his claims, he did not impute the fault in any degree to me; for he well knew what my feelings and expectations were, both in respect to him and myself, before the assignment of the parts."

The same generous feeling pervaded all the correspondence of these distinguished men in later years. After Judge White's death, Mr. Binney gave this striking tribute to his beloved classmate. "He never seemed to desire to excel others, like so many young men in College, but only to keep himself up to his own high standard. He had no rivalry. He envied no one, for such a feeling would have marred his victory." Beautiful magnanimity, where each strives to show the other to be worthier than himself, and both alike unconsciously reveal their own nobility.

Mr. Binney's Oration was upon "Enthusiam," and his own upon "The Reign of Prejudice." Exhausted in health, he was scarcely equal to the exertions of Commencement Day; but the excitement of the occasion enabled him to perform his part with his usual felicity and success.

FROM HIS GRADUATION TO HIS ADMISSION TO THE BAR.

The decision in respect to his future profession was difficult. Many things attracted him towards the study of Theology; the prevailing seriousness of his mind, all his tastes, and his deep religious convictions. He seems to have anxiously weighed the question; but he was too conscientious to adopt that profession while his views of religious doctrines remained unsettled. Then, too, many things repelled him from the study of the Law. The drudgery of that profession was positively revolting to him. The same delicacy of conscience which made him scrupulous in respect to Theology, on account of the unsettled state of his opinions, made him fearful lest the duties of the advocate might be sometimes inconsistent with his ideal of integrity, and the chicaneries of practice sully his high sense of honor. The question of right and character held the highest place in all his views of life. But though several years passed before he devoted himself to the study of Law, except at intervals, in the midst of other duties, the actual choice seems to have been early made.

The first two years after leaving College were spent in Medford, where he took charge of the Grammar School, partly for the purpose of obtaining means to discharge his obligations for a portion of the expenses of his education. Glimpses of his inner life, and the tendencies of his feeling and thought at this period, are given in letters to his classmates, and in incidental accounts of his daily occupations. On one occasion, at least, his independence was tested, when he repelled, with the utmost decision, an attempt to interfere with the management of the school, and with his own efforts to secure obedience. He declared himself ready to leave at a moment's notice; but while he remained the instructor of the school, he claimed the unrestricted right to judge of its discipline. His Medford life was very happy. His strong love for society was gratified by constant intercourse with intelligent and appreciating friends. Here, too, he formed a friendship with Rev. Dr. Osgood, which then, and ever afterward, gave him great delight; a friendship which continued with his family, to the latest hour of his own life. But these were also very busy years. He was the same faithful scholar at Medford as at Cambridge. His name had already been entered as a student of Law, and he devoted many hours to direct preparation for that profession. In a letter to his chum and class-mate, Kimball, he gives a picture of his life. The date is Feb. 12th, 1799.

"At five, this morning, your humble servant rose. After devouring about thirty pages of Smith's Wealth of Nations, he took breakfast. Then he waited upon his charming geographical pupil, and also attended to three classes in English Grammar. Then he betook himself to his despotic drudgery over fifty or sixty trembling pupils. At noon he travelled over ten or twelve pages of Tully, with a future son of Harvard; half as many in that entertaining work, the Greek Grammar; and attended to another class in parsing English. Since the afternoon school, he has passed the evening with a number of ladies, with the exception of one hour devoted to a French gentleman resident here, and desirous of my aid in getting a little hold of our language. From this one day's history, you may form an idea of his daily work. Seldom does it now materially differ from this course."

In August, 1799, he returned to Cambridge for the purpose of studying his profession. But he soon after accepted the office of Latin tutor in the University, and continued in that position for almost four years. The duties of this office were most congenial to his tastes. He loved the Classics, especially the Latin writers. In early and later letters, he often speaks with enthusiasm, and critical discrimination, of the peculiar characteristics of different Latin authors. He says of Livy, that "the more he studied, the more he admired him." In another place he writes as follows:

"I have sometimes thought Cicero and Virgil superior to all others, in the grace, the elegance, the beautiful simplicity, as well as grandeur of their style and language, and also in the variety, dignity, and excellence of their sentiments. But Horace and Sallust, too, have their peculiar attractions, and attractions which never cloy."

This acquaintance with, and love for Classical Literature, prompted him, soon after he left Cambridge, to join with Mr. John Pickering, in preparing a new edition of Sallust, with notes. The work was performed with the utmost care, and the highest scholarship, and the book was published by Cushing and Appleton, of Salem, in 1805. Unfortunately, almost the whole of the first edition was destroyed by fire, and a second was never published. This love for Classical Literature continued to the end of Judge White's life, and his library contained a valuable collection of both Greek and Latin authors.

During his connection with the College, his best powers were constantly exerted for the reformation of abuses in its general management and instruction. His high rank as a scholar, the purity and force of his character, his continuance in office during a longer period than was customary for the tutors at that time, which enabled him to act more efficiently as a member of the Government, together with his hearty affection for the University, and his untiring interest in its welfare, all combined to make his influence equally strong and beneficent.

Indeed, his attachment to the College was so sincere, that he was reluctant to leave Cambridge, and did not resign his tutorship until he had been strongly solicited to do so on the part of his friends. On the 26th of Aug., 1803, he met the Freshmen, his own "particular class, for the last time, after passing a year of uninterrupted harmony and affection with them." On Sept. 13th, he took "a final farewell of Cambridge, and went in the stage to Salem," where he immediately entered the Law Office of Samuel Putnam, afterwards Judge of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts. Mr. Putnam at once opened his house and his heart to his new pupil. Nothing could exceed the affectionate hospitality and the abounding kindness which he always received from the family of his honored instructor, as well as from himself; and it was his delight to recall their unwearied attentions in after years. He was a fellow student with John Pickering. These two young men immediately found themselves congenial spirits, not only in their love of study, in scholarly attainments and tastes, but in their general opinions upon questions out of the realm of literature. The result was a mutual respect, and an ardent friendship, which bound them very closely to each other during the remainder of their li[redacted]

His residence in Salem was very agreeable. He was welcomed into the best society of the town as an additional ornament to circles already so intelligent and attractive. He mentions, in letters to his classmates, the names of many whom he especially enjoyed, and with whom he formed lasting friendships. Amidst such pleasant auspices he remained until the completion of his professional studies, in 1804.

These seven years of preparation since he graduated from College, had been industrious and happy years. His reading was extensive. His study of the Law had been thorough. In addition to old College friendships, which he still kept warm and fresh, he formed many new ones which were valuable and true. In describing his happiness, he says:

"In the constitution of our minds, our hearts, our bodies, what inlet to pleasure is denied us! How pure is the satisfaction which attends the pursuit of truth, and the acquisition of knowledge and science! How sweet is the intercourse with those who have long been dear to us! How pleasant and valuable are those large associations in which we feel a common interest, and by which we are mutually affected, and mutually benefitted!"

Again, in 1803, when speaking of the pleasant circumstances around him, he says, "I have always found it easy to obey the Apostolic injunction, and in whatsoever state I am, to be content, and generally to be satisfied and happy."

We find abundant indications at this period, both of his own high principles of action, and of the confidence which his character had then inspired. Nothing can more conclusively show the impression which he made upon those who knew him, than the unconscious tributes which they paid to his integrity in the most confidential correspondence. No man suggested an unworthy aim, or seemed to suppose him capable of being actuated by any other than the highest motives. One classmate speaks of "the honorable and lofty success," which he predicted for him, and which he was sure would alone "satisfy him or his friends," and says, "You are not materially altered since you left College. You still do what you do with the zeal of passion, and look as loftily as any around you. You despise the first fruits of the Law, which are the only fruits that are within the reach of the grovelling barrister. You are stretching yourself to gather the fruit that hangs on the topmost bough, and you will gather it, unless I have mistaken you." This life-long friend did not mistake him. His cardinal principle was thus expressed by himself, at this very period. "Better to fail in a good cause, than to succeed in bad one"—a principle which he applied to private and public action, to the affairs of individuals and nations, with unwavering loyalty; and which, though it may sometimes lead to apparent failure, will always secure the grandest success.

FROM HIS ADMISSION TO THE BAR, TO HIS APPOINTMENT AS JUDGE.

He was admitted an Attorney of the Court of Common Pleas in Salem, June 26th, 1804. He only remained in Salem a few days to enjoy the celebration of the 4th of July, at which his friend John Pickering gave an oration, and to make immediate preparation for his removal to Newburyport. July 16th, he opened a Law office in that place. On the 5th of August, we find him an attendant upon Mr. Popkins' preaching at the old church in Newbury, which he characterizes as excellent, and under whose ministry he continued with constant satisfaction and delight. He was now twenty eight years old, with a high reputation as a man of unusual talents and attainments, as well as a man of established character. His success at the Bar was very decided, and the receipts of his second year of practice amounted to what would then have been considered an ample income. On the 24th of May, 1807, he was married at Concord, to Mrs. Mary Van Schalkwyck, daughter of Dr. Josiah Wilder, of Lancaster, Mass. She was a lady of remarkable attractions and excellence, and his correspondence at that period gives ample proof of the happiness which he found in the home which she adorned for a little more than four years. But her health soon failed; and she died on the 29th of June, 1811, leaving two daughters to be his care, and his consolation, amid his heavy grief.

Mr. White was not only early successful as a lawyer, but he at once attracted the notice and commanded the confidence of the people of the town in other respects. The next year after he went to Newburyport, he gave an address before the Merrimack Humane Society, which was published, and passed through several editions. Its favorable reception was not strange. It was an earnest plea for a life of Christian philanthropy, which struck the key note of his own life, and was written and spoken out of a full heart. He was engaged in every humane and benevolent enterprise. He helped to form the Merrimack Bible Society. He was a trustee of the Dummer Academy. He served as a member of the School Committee. Nothing which promised either to promote the health, to advance the education, or to improve the morals of the town, failed to secure his influence and coöperation. He was careful, meanwhile, not to forego his studious habits. Nov. 1, 1804, we find the following entry in his diary: "Entered on a more extended course of study than of late; Greek after Breakfast; Latin after dinner; some of the Scriptures every day." In one respect, certainly, it was not an unfitting description of his course of study in all periods of his life; for however wide its range [redacted]

in the domains of Literature, the Scriptures claimed and received their daily homage; and in all his love for Greece or Rome, he turned with deeper reverence to Palestine and the words that consecrated it forever.

In 1810, he was elected to the Senate of the State, and continued a member till 1815. His earnest and fearless devotion to the principles of the Federalists, his dignity and ability as a debater, his attainments as a lawyer, and his high character as a man, made him very prominent in the Senate. He commanded the confidence of his own party to such a degree, that he was selected as their candidate for Congress, at the election in Nov. 1814, and was chosen by an almost unanimous vote of the people of his District. But before he took his seat, the office of Judge of Probate for the County of Essex was tendered to him; and having finally decided to accept it, he resigned his commission as Representative in the Spring of 1815.

This was the turning point in his life. It was singular, certainly, that a man at the age of thirty-nine, who had already attained marked professional and political distinction, and stood so high in the public favor and confidence, should retire both from the Bar, and from public life, when so wide a sphere of service and influence was open to him. He was known beyond the limits of his own State, and was appointed chairman of a Commission to investigate the difficulties which had arisen in the administration of the affairs of Dartmouth College, by the Legislature of New Hampshire, in June, 1815. The "fruit upon the topmost bough" seemed within his grasp. Many of his friends, then, and in later years, greatly regretted the loss of the eminent public services which he was so admirably qualified to render, and which would have brought so much honor to himself, and advantage to the State. His decision was doubtless a mistake in the opinion of men of the world; but it was predetermined by his character and previous life. He was not a man of the world. He recognized the duty of laboring for its highest welfare, and cherished an undying interest in everything which promised to improve or bless it. But he was singularly free from its self-seeking and ambition. In later life, as in College, "he never seemed to desire to excel others, but only to be true to his own high standard." Then, too, the practice of the Law had never been agreeable to him; and a political career must have been still more unattractive. All his tendencies and tastes combined, with his love of literature and of study, to lead him to choose a more retired life.

Events had occurred during his residence in Newburyport, which must have had a great, though perhaps unconscious influence upon his decision. The first was the death of his classmate and chum, Jabez Kimball, in 1805. His

friendships were always true and deep, and his relations with Kimball were singularly cordial and affectionate. By frequent interchange of letters, they kept up the same free and unreserved communication of each other's plans, wishes, hopes, which they had enjoyed when they shared the same room at College. They clung to each other in mutual respect, and trust, and love; and Kimball, who had begun the practice of law in New Hampshire, earlier than Mr. White, was extremely desirous to have his friend located in his own immediate neighborhood, that they might be together in the work of life, as they had been in their preparation for it. Very soon after Mr. White went to Newburyport, the disease which had long threatened his friend developed itself in a fatal form, and he returned to Haverhill, his former home, to die among his friends and kindred. Nothing could exceed Mr. White's devotion to him during the last few months of his life. Though it must have been a great detriment to his own prospects so greatly to neglect the office which he had just opened, he divided his time between Haverhill and Newburyport, and watched over his friend till the last beat of his pulse, with an affection as tender as the love of woman. His letters show how deeply he was affected by this parting scene, and how sincerely he mourned his friend's too early loss. Life assumed a new seriousness and sacredness to his mind; and religion not only seemed to give the solution of its mystery, but to present new claims upon his personal reverence and love. And the following brief entry in his Journal, under the date of April 5th, 1807, gains a new and more beautiful significance in this connection: "Full dedication of myself to God. May He preserve my heart in his law and love!"

But the event which touched him still more deeply, was the early death of his wife. If the loss of a classmate so greatly affected him, we can only imagine, rather than describe, the profound impression made upon him by the death of a companion whom he seems to have cherished with an equal respect and love, and the breaking up of that domestic felicity which he was so eminently fitted to heighten and to enjoy. Though he always spoke of her loss with the truest resignation, he could only name it with the deepest grief. Chastened by such deep experiences, so devoted to the children left to his care, it was not strange, with such natural tastes as he possessed, that, after a brief service in public life, he should have turned away from it entirely; and so far as we can learn from letters or diaries, he never had a moment of questioning or regret in respect to his decision.

But if public life had no charm, on the other hand the position which had

been offered him possessed positive attractions. While it gave him leisure for literary pursuits, it opened a sphere of practical usefulness whose importance is very seldom appreciated.

At that time there was a peculiar opportunity for a man of eminent ability, and of ample legal attainments, to render a service which was not only very valuable, but indispensable in respect to the modes of conducting Probate business. Loose methods of procedure had crept into the Probate Courts, first adopted, doubtless, for the purpose of facilitating business, but open to serious objections, and liable to great abuse. Judges would sometimes confer with parties out of Court in respect to matters that were to be brought before them for decision, or, when it seemed unimportant, fail to order due notice to persons adversely interested, in respect to the proceedings of the Court. In pure hands, such irregularities might lead to no actual injustice; but they were entirely incompatible with the views of a man like Mr. White, and he accepted the office of Judge with the positive understanding that he should undertake their reformation.

PROBATE SERVICES.

The reformation of abuses, even when generally acknowledged, is seldom effected without discontent and censure. As was to have been expected, the new proceedings produced a temporary dissatisfaction, which neither his eminent ability as a lawyer, nor his unquestioned character as a man, could immediately silence. They involved occasional expenses and delays, which were magnified into grave causes of complaint. Fortunately for Judge White himself, and for the future character of the Probate Courts of the Commonwealth, these complaints finally took a specific form in a memorial presented to the Legislature at its Summer Session in 1821, when a special committee was appointed to institute an inquiry, and present a report.

Judge White bore himself with characteristic dignity during these vexatious proceedings. They were supposed to have been instituted partly on account of former political enmities; but they were made doubly aggravating because they were undertaken immediately after a severe domestic affliction. But he was perfectly assured of the entire propriety of his course. In a letter to his brother-in-law, Samuel Orne, Esq., of Springfield, dated June 6th, 1824, he says:

"You must have seen in the papers notice of a complaint as to the Probate affairs of this County. I hope it did not alarm you. Mr. Merrill procured me a copy of the complaint, of which I had previously no intimation. On

the face of the complaint, there is not a shadow of reason for the solemn proceedings of the House."

The Committee discharged the duty assigned them, but after examining only such witnesses as were presented by the complainants themselves, they reported that all farther proceedings should be suspended; and this triumphant vindication of his course was made complete by the unanimous adoption of their report by the Legislature. After the close of the proceedings, he writes to Mr. Orne in the following terms:

"The Committee on my Probate affairs have at length reported; and considering that the inquiry was wholly *ex parte*, and the County ransacked for those who thought themselves aggrieved to pour out their complaints, the report is as favorable as could be expected. This method of investigating the official conduct of a man, by examining witnesses not only prejudiced against him, but incapable of understanding the grounds and motives of his proceeding, and all behind his back, and making up judgment without affording him opportunity even to explain, is as arbitrary as anything of the old English Star Chamber proceedings. To subject one to this ordeal without justifiable cause, and to torture the feelings of his distant friends who cannot have his consciousness of innocence about them, is unjust and cruel. I was urged to go to Boston, and see the Committee; but I could not bring my mind down to it. I saw no one of the Legislature on the subject, and resolved to leave the thing to its own course. Now it is over, I do not regret the investigation. The sanction of the Committee to the utility of the change I adopted in the mode of doing Probate business, will close the mouths of murmurers."

We have said that the formal complaint was fortunate for the future character of the Probate Courts, as well as for Judge White himself. He was never content to leave anything partially accomplished. In another letter to Mr. Orne, dated July 5th, 1821, he says: "As to my Judgeship, if I had never meddled with it I might rejoice; but I feel like seeing it well through now. When everything becomes as it should be, I shall have no objection to quitting it." In accordance with this purpose he immediately began a little work entitled "A view of the Jurisdiction and Proceedings of the Courts of Probate in Massachusetts, with Particular Reference to the County of Essex." As he intended that this book should contain not only a history of former probate proceedings, with a vindication of the reforms which he had introduced, but also be an authoritative treatise in respect to Probate Courts, he bestowed great care upon its preparation, and consulted with his friend, Hon. John Pickering, at every step of his progress. It was printed in a pamphlet of one hundred and forty eight pages, in the early part of the year 1822. Writing to Mr. Orne at the time of its publication, he speaks of it as a work

which he "thought necessary," and adds, "If any one will read it, and not acknowledge the course I pursued was a proper one, I shall at least be indifferent to his opinion upon the subject. Next time I am to be author, I hope to have a more agreeable theme." The public soon acknowledged the propriety of his course without a dissenting voice. His book at once took its place as an authority; and the reforms introduced into the County of Essex by Judge White and Mr. Lord, the faithful Register of Probate, were extensively adopted in other parts of the Commonwealth.

Fortunately also for the Court and County, Judge White did not relinquish his office after everything had "become as it should be," but continued to adorn it until July, 1853, when he resigned, after having held it thirty eight years. We take the following passage from his diary for April 25, 1853:

"This afternoon, I sent my letter of resignation of the office of Judge of Probate, to take effect on the first of July. I sent it sooner than I intended, because I saw mention made of a movement to get recommendations to the office, and I wished that those who might feel some delicacy about doing so before I had actually resigned, might be on an equal footing with others. I believe that no predecessor has held the office longer than I have. My kinsman, John Appleton, held it thirty seven years. Many things I might now do better, but I have always aimed to do right at the time, without fear, favor, or private interest."

His modest claim did no justice to the feeling of the public, and of the profession. It may be justly said that he not only commanded confidence, but admiration in the discharge of his official duties. He had an incorruptible integrity; and he possessed a sterling good sense, a practical wisdom, an admirable balance of mind, together with a thorough knowledge of his own department of Law, so that his decisions seemed to be stamped in the mint of Justice. In his long term of service, he must have been called to adjudicate upon almost every estate in the County; and a great number of orphans and widows felt "the paternal influence of his judicial course." Equally dignified in the fulfilment of, and his retirement from his official functions, he closed his career as a Judge with a degree of approbation for his labors, and veneration for his character, which it is the fortune of only the very few to receive.

REMOVAL TO SALEM. DOMESTIC LIFE.

We resume the order of our narrative. Jan. 3d, 1817, he removed from Newburyport to Salem, a little less than two years after his appointment as

Judge. Perhaps he was drawn to this place by its social attractions. He had felt their charms when he was a student at law in the office of Judge Putnam, and spoke enthusiastically respecting them in letters to friends and classmates. At the time of his removal from Newburyport, and for many years afterwards, the society of this town comprised a very large number of persons who were eminent for high culture and accomplishments; and in his later diaries he makes allusion to the peculiar richness of Salem in great men, of some of whom, he says, any country might be proud. Delighting in society, as truly as in his books, able to make such large contributions himself to the pleasure of social intercourse, he was welcomed by all persons of genius and learning in the town.

In 1819, on the first of August, he was married a second time to Mrs. Eliza Wetmore, only daughter of William Orne, Esq., of Salem, and removed to the house in Court, now Washington St., formerly occupied by Mr. Orne, and in which he resided during the remainder of his life. Possessed now of ample means, blessed with the companionship of a wife whose uncommon intelligence and loveliness of character commanded universal respect, with leisure for the gratification of literary tastes in society and among his books, everything seemed to contribute to enhance his happiness. We have a glimpse of his home life at that time, in a letter to Mr. Orne, a brother of his wife.

"We three,"—referring also to an Aunt of Mrs. White, whom he calls "a great comforter," whose "presence alone gives a deeper consciousness of a protecting Providence,"—"we three enjoy much of true domestic comfort, of genuine fireside enjoyment. The pleasures of reading fill up most of the evening, the day being generally broken up by calls of one sort or another. In the way of reading, we have gone back to Goldsmith, and been delighted with his novels and plays, and are now with the Citizen of the World. We have also taken up Hall's Loo Choo Islands—a late work and very interesting."

It was an intelligent, cultivated, and Christian home, which presented many such bright pictures of fireside joy; a home which, though often graced by the honored guests who were welcomed to it with most generous hospitality, still derived its peculiar charm from the loving presence which gave it constant attraction, and filled it with delight.

But Judge White's domestic life was destined to be again quickly shrouded. His wife's health, which had never been strong, soon failed; and she died March 27th, 1821, soon after the birth of a son. Her early death, at the age

of thirty six, in the language of one of the notices of her character, "called forth such general and spontaneous expressions of respect and condolence, as are rarely produced by the death of any individual in the private walks of life;" and the many tributes offered to her memory, give ample proof that she had indeed endeared herself to many, "as a faithful friend, a judicious adviser, and affectionate counsellor, retired and unobtrusive, yet unwearied in rendering the kindest offices of friendship, and in performing the holiest deeds of charity." Thus only one year and eight months after his marriage, he was left a second time, stricken with the deepest grief, with the care of an infant child. This became his chief solace under his heavy sorrow, and he often speaks in his letters of the joy of his constant watchfulness over this beloved boy and his other children, and of witnessing the promise of their health and life.

For nearly three years after his wife's death, a favorite niece presided over his house, who was afterwards married to Rev. Dr. Peabody of Springfield. On the 22nd of January, 1824, he was again married to Mrs. Ruth Rogers, a daughter of Joseph Hurd, Esq., of Charlestown. By this union, which continued more than thirty seven years, and was only broken by his own death, he had three sons. Two of them died in infancy; and one, the eldest, Henry Orne White, a graduate of Harvard, in the class of 1843, is now established as a physician at Fort Atkinson, Wisconsin. In his new domestic relations, so admirably fitted to secure his happiness, the time which was not absorbed by his Probate duties was chiefly given to reading and study, and to attempts in various ways to promote the intelligence and welfare of the community. He began to accumulate books at a very early period. Two of the classes to whom he had been tutor in College, gave him very valuable works. Soon after he went to Newburyport, he mentions repeated purchases which he had made at book auctions there. He continued to collect not only the old standard works in every department of Literature, but also new books of merit, as they came from the Press, until at length, although he had given many thousands of volumes to individuals and associations, his library became very large. It was rich in various departments. His fondness for the Classics led him to collect the best editions of the Greek and Latin authors. Valuable works of History, of Poetry, of Theology, found their place upon his shelves. He was seldom absent from home, except for brief journeys, in one of which he had the good fortune to pass two or three days with his friend Rev. Dr. Channing, at Niagara Falls. While there he visited the battle-field

of Lundy's Lane, in company with him and Gen. Scott, and had all the interesting localities pointed out by one who took so distinguished a part in the brilliant military operations in that immediate neighborhood. With ample leisure to gratify his literary tastes, he was able to keep himself, in a remarkable degree, abreast of the world's intellectual life. He had his favorite branches of study. He was a lover of History. He was especially interested in Ecclesiastical affairs. Theology had great attractions for him as a Science. He was not only a faithful reader, but a careful student of the Scriptures. A translation of the Epistle to the Romans was found among his papers. His journal, in which he makes constant mention of the books which he was reading from time to time, and gives brief commendations or criticisms respecting them, affords abundant proof of the purity of his tastes, and of the wide range and great fidelity of his studies and inquiries.

Of other aspects of Judge White's domestic life, it is difficult to speak in fitting terms. No man could have held more sacred the relations to his home and children, or more faithfully endeavored to fulfil them. Perhaps the fact that he had been twice left with the care of children in their infancy, and thus felt himself called by Providence itself to undertake a mother's as well as a father's office, made him unusually thoughtful and careful respecting their training and education. Still this was in his nature, and would have manifested itself under any circumstances. But his theories upon the subject were most judicious. He believed in obedience; but though this was indispensable, he aimed to secure it by gaining the implicit confidence, and the affections of his children, rather than by positive constraint. He was careful not to interfere with nature. He desired to be to them as an invigorating atmosphere, or as the life-giving light, to call forth every nobler and generous trait of character, while unworthy traits and feelings were silently, but persistently repressed and eradicated, rather than to attempt to mould their lives by an excess of discipline; so that they might become what God intended to make them, instead of what he might try to make them himself according to his sincere, but possibly mistaken fancy. Then, too, the deepest thing in his nature was his affection; and though none of those who loved him most, knew, or could imagine the depth of his love, still it made itself continually felt in the nearer relationships of his life, and was refreshing as the dews in his intercourse with his children.

His letters to his eldest son, Rev. William O. White, of Keene, beginning with his first absence from home, and continued to his own latest days, num-

bering more than six hundred, are most charming specimens of the correspondence of a father with a child. During his son's College days and preparation for professional life, they are filled with admirable hints respecting the true methods of study, and the true aims of life, with out-pourings of the wealth of his learning and affection. Occasionally maxims of wisdom drop unconsciously from his loving pen. Once, for example, in a letter that seems to have been called forth by some pecuniary loss, he says, "If we have competency we should not only be thankful, but cheerfully enjoy it, and never suffer the loss of any portion of property to annoy us, and diminish our enjoyment of the residue. We should never forget that property is good for nothing if not enjoyed in some way, and worse than nothing, if allowed to annoy us by its flight." It would be difficult to find a correspondence that is more unaffected and simple, and yet more truly instructive in its comments upon books and literary questions, as well as upon public affairs, and more entirely instinct with the highest principles, and the most profoundly religious spirit. Happy the son upon whom has been showered such treasures of memory and love.

We forbear to tread farther upon ground so sacred. But Judge White's love of study, though a life-long passion, and his affectionate fidelity to his children, only present particular phases of his character. He had the warmest social sympathies, and he delighted in the interchange of thought and sentiment with living minds. It was his fortune to enjoy an extensive acquaintance with many of the leading men of Massachusetts, and of New England. He esteemed this as one of the great privileges of his life, and it gave him the highest pleasure to welcome them under his own roof. Every man distinguished in any department of study, who visited the city, was drawn towards him as by a magnet. His hospitality was entirely unostentatious, but absolutely generous and free. If his house continually presented fireside pictures of the family circle, engaged in reading new or standard books, it almost as frequently witnessed the gathering of intellectual friends, and of strangers whom he wished to greet and honor, around his cheerful table. Almost every clergyman, who transiently supplied the pulpit of the church in which he worshipped, received his hospitalities. To its stated minister, his house was another home. No man's hospitality could have been more constant or attractive; and certainly very few private dwellings, in the same period, welcomed a greater number of intellectual and professional guests than his, during the last forty years of his life.

Our picture of this aspect of his life is incomplete without a distinct notice of his conversational gifts. With rich and wide intellectual acquisitions, with a memory that faithfully kept its gathered treasures, with singular clearness of thought, he had a facility of expressing his ideas in language at once apt, vigorous, transparent as his own life and character. It is easy to believe the tradition of his eminence as a debater in the Senate of the Commonwealth. Fearless, earnest, prompt to rebuke arrogance, meanness, political scheming, in most pungent, yet decorous speech, clear and comprehensive in argument, he must have been a formidable antagonist, or a most effective ally in debate. In conversation at his own fireside, where his quick affections had full play, his varied powers manifested themselves with charming unconsciousness and freedom. A companion of scholars, like Bowditch, Pickering and Story, prepared to discuss the gravest questions of Law, Politics, Theology, Literature, he was also at home even with children, ready to meet all minds and hearts with an equal simplicity, with the same benignant courtesy and grace.

CONNECTION WITH PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS.

Though Judge White lived for many years in comparative retirement, neither the charm of books, nor of social intercourse, absorbed his thought. He retired from all strife for the prizes of the world, but he never remitted his labors for its welfare. No man was more alive to the highest interests of the Community, the Commonwealth, and the Country; and he exerted an active public influence even to his last days, by his connection with Literary and Charitable Institutions, and his services in their behalf. The University lay very near his heart. The love which he acquired for it when an undergraduate, was greatly increased during his four years residence at Cambridge as a Tutor. His correspondence with Prof. Hedge for a number of years after he resigned his tutorship, is largely devoted to the affairs of the College, and shows the intensity of his interest in everything that related to its administration, or which could promote its prosperity. These words are in his Journal, Sept. 27th, 1804:

"Heard of the death of that excellent and beloved man, President Willard, and I wept most of all that I should see his face no more." The question of a successor at that time, and in every vacancy in the Presidency of the Institution during his long life, held a foremost place in his mind; and no man

labored with greater zeal, or perhaps with greater efficiency, to secure the appointment of men to that high office, who should not only confer honor upon the College, but help to make the oldest, also the best and noblest seat of learning in the country. He was jealous of its reputation in all respects, and prompt to enter the lists as its defender or advocate, when charges were made against it amid the changes in Ecclesiastical, or Political affairs. He was a member of the Board of Overseers for eleven years. He mentions in his diary other ways in which he was ready to help it, and speaks of a contribution which he could not withhold, "when a movement was made for the increase of the library in 1842, although he felt himself little able to make it on account of recent losses;" and then adds the words which were always in his heart, if not upon his lips, "God bless the College." As might have been expected from his character, he regarded the moral tone of the Institution as of supreme importance. In his diary, Jan. 12th, 1842, he says:

"What pleased me at the Examination public dinner, yesterday, was the total absence of all beverage but cold water, it being the first time I ever witnessed such a spectacle on any occasion of the kind at Cambridge. Hope it will be so at Commencement. Told the President yesterday, at dinner time, that I thought it more important at College than any where else, that abstinence from intoxicating drinks should be sacredly observed." At a later date he expresses his great joy at the stand which President Everett had taken upon that subject, and adds, "All this should be sacredly adhered to." It was this deep interest in the moral welfare of the College which induced him to make the suggestion in his Address to the Alumni in 1844, in respect to a Professorship of the Philosophy of the Moral Life, which led to the bequest from Miss Plummer of this city, for the foundation of the Plummer Professorship of Christian Morals. While he delighted in every advance in the scholarship of the College, it was his cardinal principle that moral training should hold the sovereign place in all educational plans; and he never permitted an opportunity to be lost, when he could press its paramount claims. It is proper to say that the College did not forget the claim of so loyal and distinguished a son to her honors, and conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Laws, in 1837.

The Divinity School at Cambridge was another object of his peculiar regard. He was one of the directors of the Society for the promotion of Theological Education in Cambridge, which was formed in 1816, and reörganized in 1824. This Society collected funds for the erection of Divinity Hall, and

laid the foundation of the present Theological School. The Institution interested him most deeply, because it was based upon the following broad principle, which entirely commended itself alike to his judgment and his heart. "It being understood, that every encouragement be given to the serious, impartial and unbiassed investigation of Christian truth; and that no assent to the peculiarities of any denomination of Christians be required of the students, or professors, or instructors." He retained the same paternal interest in the School to the end of life; and his last visit to Cambridge, the last public occasion of any kind which he attended, was at the Annual Meeting of the Visiting Committee of the Divinity School, of which he had long been a member, on the 2nd of January, 1861.

He was an active member of many prominent philanthropic and literary associations, such as the Charitable Congregational Society; the Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Indians, and others in North America; the Mass. Historical Society; the Academy of Arts and Sciences—and a faithful attendant upon their meetings, so long as his strength permitted him to be present. Remembering the high place which these Associations held in his regard, both on account of his conviction of the importance of the objects which they were designed to promote, and of his warm friendship for the distinguished men with whom he was then connected, the following brief entry in his diary, only a few weeks before his death, gains a touching interest: "Received notice of Mass. Historical Meeting, on Thursday, which *is*, and probably must ever be an empty ceremony while I live." No similar summons ever was an empty ceremony to him, till his last illness rendered it impossible for him longer to mingle with those to whom his heart clung even to the end.

This habitual and untiring interest in the improvement and welfare of society made him prompt to give his approbation and his exertions to every wise project which promised to promote it. When Lyceums were first established in the State, and a public meeting for consultation respecting them was held in Boston, in 1829, he heartily entered into the movement. He was chosen President of the Essex County Lyceum, and gave an Address at its first Annual Meeting in Ipswich, May 5th, 1830. The Address was printed. It explained the design of the Institution, and its uses, with an answer to some objections which had been made against it. He was the first President of the Salem Lyceum, and continued to be one of its three trustees, always interested in its prosperity, until his death. The following extract from a letter to his classmate, Hon. Horace Binney, to whom he had sent a copy of his Ly-

ceum Address, gives a glimpse of his idea of the purpose of such institutions, and of one of the incidental benefits which he hoped might result from their establishment:

"I was led to concern myself with the institution of a Lyceum, from a desire to give it a different character, in some respects, from what I feared it might assume. It appeared to me important that it should be so conducted as to afford miscellaneous instruction and entertainment, on moral and literary topics, adapted to an audience of both sexes, instead of being confined to scientific lectures, and thus be made to serve for the purposes of popular recreation."

His hope was that it might thus to some extent, at least, preclude the demand for questionable forms of public amusement; and he names in the same letter encouraging indications of such a desirable result. To show how truly his mind was alive to this great idea of popular education and improvement, we quote another passage from a letter written in 1835, to an old College friend, whose honored name had just before been given in support of an Association for the supply of teachers:

"It reminded me of what I have often contemplated as worthy to be supported by such influence, and, if so supported, as calculated to do an immense good to the next generation, and the present too—that is, an association extending over the country, by uniting some of the wise and good from every part, for the purpose of improving and elevating the morals of young men, especially the educated, and those belonging to our cities and populous towns, by circulating or recommending the best books for reading, providing lectures from eminent men, and other impressive means of moral influence. Might not an Association be formed on some such plan which would promote this great object, and advance the moral well-being of our country? I only trouble you with a hint on this subject, a full discussion of which might fill a volume."

No such hint, whether originated by another's mind, or by his own, was lost upon himself. It was in beautiful accordance with such words as these, that, near the close of his life, in 1852, he made a gift of six acres of land, which then remained of his father's farm, situated in the central part of the City of Lawrence, to promote the object which he had so much at heart. By negotiations with the Essex Company, which were honorable to all parties concerned, all restrictions in respect to the erection of buildings upon the land were removed, and it was conveyed to trustees to be sold, and the proceeds to be used as a fund, eventually to establish a public library, and provide for public lectures, because he had "at heart the welfare of his native place, and earnestly desired to do something to promote the prosperity and improvement of

its now numerous population." His desire was "to have special reference to the wants of the young, and of the industrial classes;" for his great object was, "the education and training up of the young, in habits of industry, morality, and piety, and in the exercise of true Christian principles, both in thought and action." It was a free gift, which he regarded as the payment of a sacred debt, and for which he claimed no honor. When complimented respecting it, at a public occasion in Lawrence, not long after, he felt himself obliged to disclaim the extent of credit attributed to him, and spoke of the noble old farm as it was in his boyhood, closing his remarks with the following sentiment: "The prosperity of the City of Lawrence; May its beauties of Art, rival its former beauties of Nature, and may its moral dignity equal its material splendor." This fund already amounts to about ten thousand dollars, while one half of the original gift of land remains unsold.

Judge White was a sincere and practical philanthropist. He took great interest in the Temperance reformation, and gave a consistent support to the principle of total abstinence from intoxicating drinks, both in precept and in practice. He discountenanced the use of tobacco also, as in his judgment equally unnecessary and offensive. He was moderate in his views, and could not assent to many opinions and measures which he considered extreme and violent. But he was ready and anxious, irrespective of other men's opinion, or popular favor, to give his support to everything which might help forward these reformatory movements, so far as it commended itself to his judgment and his conscience. If the case could be made clear to his eminently balanced and judicial mind, his heart and his hand were never wanting.

INTEREST IN POLITICAL AND ECCLESIASTICAL AFFAIRS.

In other aspects of his life, Judge White was the same earnest man. Truly devoted to everything which touched the public welfare, he became, by the necessity of his nature, an ardent patriot. Loyalty with him was both a principle and a passion, and his love of country took hold of the depths of his heart. He was born on the day on which the motion was made in the American Congress, by Richard Henry Lee, to declare the colonies independent. He came forward into manhood under the administration of Washington, and acquired the profoundest reverence for him, and for those associated with him in the highest offices of the government. He detested Aaron Burr, and mourned the disastrous death of Hamilton as a profound personal grief. That

grief was never forgotten. He says in 1841, after he had been reading the short life of Hamilton in the Family Library: "The closing part very touching, renewing the tears which flowed so freely thirty seven years ago, and the sad and deep feeling for such a public loss, and wanton sacrifice of life, under circumstances so tragic and deplorable." His life-long feeling about Washington and his administration found expression in the following terms in a letter to his son, after he had been reading the first volume of Sparks' Life:

"It is refreshing and delightful to look back upon such a character, and such patriotism and public spirit as we find in him and his associates in the government. Wisdom, integrity, public virtue and pure patriotism, then animated the administration, from Washington through every subordinate department. When you have leisure for miscellaneous reading, you can find nothing better than this life of Washington, which is sure to repay you in entertainment, besides affording you the noblest lessons of wisdom and virtue. From him you may learn, though you should never hold a public office, much that is applicable to every condition of life; self-control, self-denial, self-respect, views elevated above transient pleasure to high purposes, and a steadfast adherence in all your conduct to your own principles, and the resolutions you have formed. The influence of such an example can scarcely fail to find its way to the heart and into the life of every ingenuous young man, who contemplates it with anything of a kindred spirit. And where is the ingenuous young man who would not wish to cherish such a spirit?"

Judge White was an ardent Federalist while that party continued in existence, and undeviatingly defended its purity and patriotism. He was one of the Electors for President in 1816, when the Massachusetts Electoral College unanimously cast their votes for John Marshall, of Virginia. After the dissolution of the Federal party he became a Whig. During the last years of his life he was a Republican, and voted for Fremont in 1856, and for Lincoln in 1860. This last change in his party relations he always maintained to be no change of principle, even in the slightest degree. Upon being asked where he should go at the time of the organization of the Republican party upon the basis of the exclusion of Slavery from the Territories, his answer was, "I shall not go anywhere, but stay where I have always been. This was the principle of the days of Washington." After reading Gov. Seward's speech, which was made at that time concerning the aggressions of the slave power, he said, "I cannot but feel sympathy with such men as he in opposing the further encroachments of this dread power upon free territories. The question in my mind is of awful consequence whether these future States shall be blessed with true freedom, or cursed with slavery; whether the Olive tree or the Upas shall be planted, to bless, or to blast."

He was conservative in opinion and feeling. He was not an Abolitionist in the technical sense in which that word has been generally used since the agitation of the slave question during the last twenty or thirty years. He regarded the position which many abolitionists assumed in respect to the dissolution of the Union as radically wrong, and condemned their denunciations as unwise and indefensible. But he was utterly hostile to Slavery itself. After reading the life of Thomas Fowell Buxton, he noticed it with "great interest and delight," as "almost persuading him to be an abolitionist, altogether indeed such an one as he was." He detested the cruel prejudice against the colored race. This entry occurs in his diary, for 1841. "Read account of the Monument Cemetery of————. Struck with one of the by-laws which provides that "no person of color shall ever be interred there." Pitiful! wondrous pitiful." When the question of the admission of colored children into the Public Schools was agitated in 1844, he speaks in the following forcible terms:

"Had some warm conversation on the subject of admitting colored children to our Public Schools, for which I contended. I should have no fears my children would be contaminated by black skins, but by moral blackness, often found beneath the most aristocratic white skins. I said the committee should follow out the rule of right, and of Christian morality, and all would ultimately acquiesce."

His position was, conscientiously to sustain the compromises of the Constitution; but he jealously watched the persistent aggressions of the Slave power, and his indignation in regard to them was aroused many years before his death. Dec. 12th, 1844, he says in his Journal, "The papers this morning tell us that my friend, Mr. Hoar, sent to South Carolina to protect citizens of Mass. (colored) in their rights against unlawful imprisonment, has been expelled from Charleston by legislative resolve of that State,—an outrage worthy of their nullifying character, and mad devotion to Slavery, and of the abominable course taken by their political idol, Calhoun; but we trust it is a madness which precedes their own defeat."

This indignation never abated, but steadily increased, and it is interesting to trace its growth. At the time of the debates on the Fugitive Slave Bill in 1851, he writes thus:

"Read Mr. Mann's able speech, and cannot but agree with him in his main views of the Fugitive Slave Law,—a law least of all others entitled to privileges of any sort, and which must hang as a millstone upon any Administration, or party, identifying itself with it, bound at all events to sustain it in all its odious features."

After the Burns case in 1854, he writes:

"People and papers full of agitation about the slave (Burns) being sent back, and the great excitement in Boston. All under God's good Providence may eventuate well, and serve to overthrow the evil law which ought never to have existed."

In respect to the Dred Scott decision, after saying, "It ought to rouse all in opposition to Slavery extension more resolutely than ever," he writes, in 1857, as follows:

"I cannot believe that its judicial effect will be durable; for so far as I have had an opportunity to judge, it appears to want the essential requisites of permanent law—foundation in truth. From the abstract of Judge Taney's opinion that I have seen, it seems to assume what is false, and to proceed upon false premises. Justice Curtis's opinion is, I think, as able and satisfactory a document of the kind as I have ever read. He is clear, close, and conclusive on every point, proving unanswerably every position he takes, and overthrowing all objections raised against it. The *permanent* law of the case must be in accordance with truth and reason, not with fallible opinions of fallible men. These will pass away together, while the basis of law remains the same forever."

It was his constant motto, "Never to despair of the Republic;" yet his anxiety respecting public affairs greatly increased during these later years. The assault upon Mr. Sumner, roused his indignation to the highest degree. He characterizes it in his diary, as "most cowardly, mean, ferocious, and brutal," and adds, "If the House do not expel the ruffian, and the Senate protect its dignity, then ruffianism is tranferred from the borders of Kansas to the walls of the Capitol."

But although made greatly anxious by the threatening aspect of affairs at the South, he was slow to believe in the possibility of a wide-spread rebellion, without "a single grievance, or pretence of grievance," to justify or palliate it. Such an unnatural crime against the sacredness of Law, and the spirit of liberty, seemed too monstrous to be believed. But when the crisis drew near, he was not intimidated. His courage rose as the clouds grew dark. He had no patience with reasoning about the Union. He remembered Washington, who denounced those who started a doubt upon the subject. He believed in decided measures, and commended Andrew Johnson's speech in Dec. 1860, as presenting the true point of distinction between "coercing a State, and executing the Laws against individuals in a seceding State"—the latter of which he says, "Mr. Johnson is ready to do in the most effective manner, for the preservation of the Union at all hazards." On Mr. Floyd's resignation as Secretary of war, he dismissed him with the following sentence—"One traitor the less in the

Cabinet; would that all were gone." As his strength failed in the last weeks of his life, just before the bursting of the storm of Civil War, his patriotism burned with deepest fervor. When he was only able to pen a few brief sentences in his diary from day to day, he speaks of "the insane follies of the maddened South," and adds, "I shall not be here to suffer long from them." Still later, he says, "Read some in evening papers; enough to make my blood boil." Only a week before his death, referring to the visit of a friend, he says, "Speaks as I feel about Secession, *Treason.*" Those who saw him in his very latest days will never forget how his love of country would make him insensible for the moment to weakness and disease, until his voice regained its vigor, and he would pour out inspiring words of devotion and heroism, with his former manly strength. And thus loyal to his country, as he was faithful to society, the aged patriot went to his rest. But his spirit was transmitted to his descendants. Four of his grandchildren, sons of William Dwight, Esq., hurried to the field at the first call to arms, where they rendered heroic service to the country. Two of them have fallen, both young men of the fairest promise. One, Lt. Col. Wilder Dwight, of the 2nd Mass. Volunteers, fell at Antietam. The other, Capt. Howard Dwight, Assistant Adjutant General to Brig. Gen. Andrews, in Louisiana. When riding alone, on turning a bend of the road, he suddenly found himself covered by the rifles of three guerrillas, on the opposite side of a bayou, and called upon to surrender. Though he acknowledged himself their prisoner, he was barbarously shot. It was a ferocious and brutal deed, fitly symbolizing the spirit that prompted the outrage upon Senator Sumner, which his grandfather so indignantly denounced.

Any sketch of Judge White's life would be incomplete, which did not make distinct, though brief mention of his religious opinions, and his special views in respect to Ecclesiastical affairs. After his removal from Newburyport, he connected himself with the First Church in this city, and continued to worship there during the rest of his life. He had many other warm and life-long interests, but Christian truth held the sovereign place, and religion lay at the bottom of his heart. His diary and letters show how constantly it occupied his thoughts. Each New Year, and the recurrence of each birth-day, called forth a new dedication of himself to its service, increasing in earnestness as age drew on, but always penned in a childlike simplicity of faith and trust. Very often he notices the Theological books which had occupied his studies. March 28th, 1841, he writes thus:

"Locke, Coleridge and the Bible. Read Coleridge's Confessions of an Inquiring Spirit—good, but partakes of his common faults—should like it better if it had more of the clearness and simplicity of Locke, whom elsewhere this same Coleridge undervalues." "It is the spirit of the Bible, and not the detached words and sentences, that is infallible and absolute. I find little to dissent from in this book, which contains many fine passages. I have always felt the truth of the following sentiment: "The truth revealed through Chrst has its evidence in itself, and the proof of its divine authority is in its fitness to our nature and needs; the clearness and cogency of the proof being proportionate to the degree of self-knowledge in each individual hearer." Christianity has likewise its historical evidences, and these are as strong as is compatible with the nature of history, and with the aims and objects of a religious dispensation. Take in addition Christianity itself as an existing power in the world, and Christendom as an existing fact, with the no less evident fact of a progressive expansion, and the whole gives a force of moral demonstration that almost supersedes particular testimony."

He had made the Scriptures a study through his life-time. Perhaps no man ever studied them more conscientiously or carefully. But though he became thoroughly settled in Unitarian views, he was as catholic in respect to others' opinions as he was decided in his own. He believed that others were as conscientious as himself, and was impatient of every thing that did not recognize the truest freedom of religious thought. His faith was more of the heart than of the head, and he recognized true sincerity among men of every creed, and hailed the manifestations of the Christian life in every church with the utmost alacrity and joy. Sectarianism was his perpetual aversion, and he would have contended against it in himself as earnestly as he warred against it in others. Indeed he chiefly valued Unitarianism, not on account of its doctrines, but of its distinct and unqualified recognition of the right of every man to interpret the Scriptures for himself, and adopt his own religious views, uncensured by fallible men, unfettered by human creeds.

This was an opinion which Judge White most sacredly cherished, and most consistently followed out. He could never recognize any form of opinions as the basis of Christian fellowship. "The Bible and the Bible only," he deemed the proper creed, and he desired to leave all men wholly to that, perfectly aware that men of different temperaments and different mental tendencies, would read it with different eyes, and be led to different conclusions. He believed that every church should rest upon this broad basis, and considered every form of test-creed as an invasion of the mind's most sacred rights, and a breach of Christian liberty. His consistent fidelity to this position led him into controversy at different periods of his life. He engaged in a correspondence be-

tween the First and the Tabernacle Church in this city, in 1832, which involved this principle; and which we only refer to now in order to mention one letter in the course of the controversy from his pen, extending to one hundred and twenty seven pages, in defence of Protestant and Congregational liberty. It was marked by his thorough learning and vigor of thought, and deserves to hold a prominent place in the record of his literary labors.

Indeed, he believed that this principle of Christian liberty for which he so zealously contended was the doctrine of the original New England Churches themselves. He never questioned that their opinions were Calvinistic, or that they strenuously insisted upon the doctrines of Calvinism. His position was, that at the settlement of the country, they were so mindful of the spirit of John Robinson's oft quoted words respecting the greater light yet to break forth from God's word, as to associate themselves together in churches under a simple covenant, such as is found on the earliest records of the First Church in Salem, and in Plymouth, interweaving no special statements of doctrine in the original basis of their organization. A controversy arose between Rev. Dr. Worcester and himself in respect to this point of history in 1854. In his earnestness to maintain his own position, to use his own language, "First in defence of the truly Protestant foundation of the First Church" (of Salem,) and "secondly, in defence of historical truths," he was induced to prepare an elaborate work, entitled "New England Congregationalism, in its Origin and Purity," which occupied the last months, and almost the last weeks of his life. It was printed in a volume of more than 300 pages, and had scarcely left the press at the time of his death. The truth of history, whatever it may be, will be finally vindicated. Whether Judge White's positions were right or not, beyond all question, the merit must be awarded to him of undeviating consistency in his opinions, and of untiring labor in their defence. And it is a striking and affecting circumstance, that this principle of Christian liberty, which he deemed so precious, should have occupied his latest thought, and commanded the last labors of his pen.

CHARACTER AS A CITIZEN.

The position which Judge White held in Salem during the last twenty or thirty years of his life was so universally acknowledged, and the influence which he exerted was so beneficent, that we have reserved a distinct place for this aspect of his character. The brilliant circle into which he was welcomed on his removal from Newburyport was soon broken. Dr. Bowditch took up his residence in Boston in 1823. Hon. John Pickering followed him in 1827.

Judge Story removed to Cambridge in 1829. Dr. Holyoke died in the same year. Dr. Prince died in 1836, and Hon. Leverett Saltonstall in 1843. Others also passed away. Judge White was thus left for many years as almost the only survivor of that remarkable company of men, who was still a resident of the city. It was natural, therefore, that all eyes should spontaneously turn to him on occasions of great public interest. On the death of Dr. Bowditch in March 1838, when the City desired to offer public honors to the memory of one of her most distinguished sons, it was instantly felt that Judge White must be the person to express her reverence. He was peculiarly fitted to fulfil that sacred service by his full appreciation of Dr. Bowditch's eminent qualities as a scholar and a man. He speaks of a brief interview with Dr. Bowditch a few days before his death, and of his character, in the following words:

"I had a very precious conversation with him which I shall never forget, and for which I feel very thankful. He conversed in the most affectionate and interesting manner to me upon the relation we sustain to Divine Providence, and the duty of entire submission in all things. I have always held his character in the highest admiration as a combination of the richest qualities of human nature—of head and heart—theory and practice—public spirit and social benevolence. Rarely has there lived a man, especially a self-educated man, who accomplished so much for Science, for society, and for friends—who attained such eminence in the learned world, and was so useful and so beloved in the walks of business and of private life."

The Eulogy was delivered on the 24th of May 1838, and printed in a pamphlet of 72 pages. Of its character it is enough to say, that it did equal credit to its subject and its author.

In 1846 he was called to perform a similar service before the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, on the death of his friend, Hon. John Pickering. In this case also he was preëminently the man to pay such a tribute. He had known and honored Mr. Pickering since the day when they first met as fellow students in the Law Office of Judge Putnam. He writes as follows in his Journal, May 6th, 1846:

"Heard this morning of the afflicting intelligence for which I was prepared on Monday, of the death of Hon. John Pickering, LL. D., my good friend, and a most excellent man; distinguished for purity of mind, heart, character, taste, feeling and principle; at the head of American Philologists; accomplished

as a Classical scholar, and as a Christian gentleman. His death makes a chasm not easily, or soon to be filled—one which will be long felt and deplored—his merits being personal, intrinsic, rare."

On May 8th, two days later, he writes again:

"I feel Mr. Pickering's loss with no little sadness, following as it does in quick succession that of Saltonstall and Story, all luminaries of Salem. How rich must Salem have been with all these, and Dr. Bowditch and Dr. Prince added to them."

When engaged in the preparation of his Eulogy he says, "I find a fullness of materials, and a difficulty in selection and arrangement. But I must do as well as I can. I shall not fail from want of *heart* in the subject." And again, a few months afterwards, in speaking of the five Eulogies which he had delivered,—the first upon his class-mate Wellington, when an under-graduate; the second upon the death of Washington, delivered in the Meeting House, in Methuen, Jan. 13th, 1800, at the request of the people of his native town, prepared at a few days notice, without books to refer to, when at home on a short vacation, and which was his first printed discourse; the third upon Mr. Shapleigh, the Librarian at Harvard, in April of the same year; the fourth upon Dr. Bowditch; and the fifth upon Mr. Pickering,—two of which had necessarily been prepared in haste—he says, "The first was written with some pains, the fourth with more, and the fifth with most. None afforded me more interest and pleasure than the *last*, which I am very sure will always be my *last*, as I think it is my best."

He could not fail from "want of *heart*" in these sacred tributes to friends, for no man's friendships were deeper, or more sincere. The Eulogy upon Mr. Pickering, whom he depicts as a "model scholar," was delivered Oct. 20th, 1846, and printed in a pamphlet of 106 pages, at Cambridge.

When it was proposed to open a new Cemetery in the City in 1840, he was selected as the most fitting person to give the Consecrating Address. On account of indisposition, he felt himself obliged at first to decline that service. The following extract from a letter written at the time, shows how earnestly he entered into this, as into every project, alike for the adornment and improvement of the City.

"I feel some desire to comply with the request, as I feel a great interest in the design; but I feared my health might be too much interrupted to allow

me sufficient time, at such short notice, to perform the duty required of me in a proper manner. The more I have thought of the plan of establishing such a Cemetery in our immediate vicinity, the more important it appears. The place selected is the very one of all others best adapted by nature for such a purpose, and admits of all desirable improvements from Art, with all possible embellishments of taste. When completed it will be a most attractive spot for a rural walk, as well as for a rural burying place, combining a thousand interesting associations, continually increasing in number and character to render it delightful, and in a moral view, highly useful. An indissoluble association exists with the departed friend or relative in the survivor's heart, leading his thoughts and feelings constantly to the spot where their remains are deposited. When this is a disagreeable or dreary place, it is shocking to the mourner's sensibility; when like Mt. Auburn, or the expected Harmony Grove, it is, on the contrary, soothing to his feelings, connecting with the object of his grief pleasing associations, which serve to diffuse cheerfulness over his spirits, and to strip death of its gloomy terrors."

The desire that he should give the Address was so strong that the invitation was renewed. It was delivered June 14th, 1840, and was afterwards printed.

Judge White became connected, either by liberal contributions, or official service, sometimes by both, with every prominent literary or philanthropic association in Salem. His interest in the Lyceum has been already mentioned. He was President of the old Essex Historical Society, and the Salem Athenæum, the Salem Dispensary, and the Salem Savings Bank. But the service which he rendered in founding and endowing the Essex Institute demands especial notice. When the Essex Historical, and the Essex County Natural History Societies were merged in the Institute, in 1848, he was chosen its President, and continued to hold that office until his death. Since that union was accomplished, by the constant devotion of persons interested in its various departments of Science, or History, and by the tireless labors of its Secretary, the Institute has become a living and active association. At first its library was very small, comprising only twelve or thirteen hundred volumes. Judge White soon determined to transfer a large number of his own books to its shelves. In 1851, he made his first large contribution, in addition to volumes previously given to the Historical and Natural History Societies, of which he thus speaks, May 12th:

"Selected more books for the Essex Institute, chiefly French, Latin and Greek, with many small volumes, literary, biographical, historical &c., and some very valuable; as Barton's Flora, in three quarto volumes, superb plates, which I bought in Providence, when attending Commencement in 1827; Har-

rington's Oceana, and other works which I imported twenty years ago or more, Athenae, Oxonienses, &c., all amounting, perhaps, to about 400 volumes; and I have enough more to send, doubtless, to make the number exceed 3000."

In 1857 he made another contribution at the time of the removal of the Institute to its present rooms in Plummer Hall, of which he thus speaks, July 14th:

"I have been very busy in closing my remittance of books to the Essex Institute, making in all over a thousand volumes of valuable books, amounting at a moderate estimate to between 1,300 and 1,400 dollars. With those sent before, of whose value I make no particular estimate, the number exceeds four thousand volumes."

In addition to these, by his will, he directed that over 3,000 more should be given, so that his entire contributions amount to more than eight thousand volumes, and about ten thousand pamphlets.

One small donation of thirty or forty volumes of choice books, comprising among them some rare editions of the classics, and which were sent only two days before his death, has a special interest. They were selected from the library of Dr. Vergnies, formerly of Newburyport, and he desired them to be placed in the Institute for consultation instead of general circulation; and his last signature, on the last evening of his life, was affixed to the paper in which he stated his wishes respecting their future use.

These contributions are of great value. Among them are nearly a thousand volumes of English and American History, and nearly as many more of English Literature, some of them rare and fine editions, making the library rich in those departments. A great number of all these 8,000 volumes have annotations in Judge White's own hand, giving facts respecting their authors, or criticisms of his own, with reference to notices of them elsewhere, which greatly add to their worth, and would be of great help to the student. These gifts, with donations from other patrons of the Institute, make a library which is already, in many respects, very complete, and which only needs one or two thousand volumes of modern works, judiciously selected, to supply its present deficiencies, to become what its friends desire it to be. Though dead, its generous benefactor still speaks to those who can complete the endowment which he so munificently began.

The gifts of Judge White to the Institute were not confined to contributions of books. When a thousand or fifteen hundred dollars were needed in money, he cheerfully assumed a fifteenth or twentieth part of the sum as his own proportion. It is probably just also to say, that to his good offices in

removing questionings which had previously existed in Miss Plummer's mind in respect to the possibility of any future misappropriation of her bequests, the Athenæum is indebted for her legacy of thirty thousand dollars for the erection of Plummer Hall, which affords such ample accommodations for the library and cabinets of the Institute, and which is such an ornament and honor to the city itself.

Of Judge White's other contributions in multiplied forms of charity, it would be impossible fitly to speak. If a subscription were desirable for any benevolent purpose, he would often be the first to suggest it, and always be ready to aid it with generous gifts. Sometimes he would personally solicit donations from others; and he occasionally gives amusing descriptions of his experiences in that form of service, and of the knowledge of human nature which was thus obtained. He had the training of a New England home, in which economy is often diligently studied in order to provide liberally for the choicest education of a child, or to lavish its gifts upon some great Christian enterprise; a training which seems beautifully to blend the teaching of the multiplying of the loaves with the gathering up of the fragments. Thus he became simple in his own tastes, but prompt to meet every demand or opportunity of charity. He remembered every tie of kindred; he sent help to the poor; he stretched out his hand to society and to the world. The surplus of income beyond the necessary expenses of his household, during the later years of life, was generally consecrated to offices of benevolence. He was not undiscriminating in his gifts. Applications for aid which did not commend themselves to his judgment he unhesitatingly refused. But he suffered no temporary diminution of income, or pecuniary loss, to lessen his contributions to habitual dependants upon his bounty, or stint his offerings to these more sacred objects of beneficence. He cultivated the acquaintance of young men who were earnestly struggling to gain a liberal education; not only in order to aid them by pecuniary assistance, but by his sympathy and encouragement, which from one so honored was an additional inspiration.

It was his frequent custom to note down upon the checks which he drew for any special purpose, the object to which that sum of money was to be devoted; and thus his bank account, though it might furnish no record of some munificent gifts, and of numberless smaller ones which have no record upon earth, would present an unusual and a beautiful history of charity. Truly such men "make to themselves friends of the mammon of unrighteousness, that, when they fail, receive them into everlasting habitations."

It is scarcely necessary to say, that a man so distinguished as Judge White for intellectual power, and literary acquisitions, so steadfast in integrity, so large-minded and catholic in spirit, so prompt to recognize every claim of citizenship or charity, so steadfastly devoted to the best interests of society, must have become a beneficent power in the community, whose influence it is equally impossible to describe, and difficult to overestimate. His coöperation, or his benediction, was the first thing to be sought in every important movement for the public good. In later years, at least, "his name led all the rest." His presence was a silent rebuke to injustice, to narrowness and selfishness in their every form. He was a living embodiment of what a true public spirit can do to call forth the same generous feeling in other men, not only by his multiplied acts of benevolence, but by the perpetual influence of his character. The City was indeed bereaved when his manly form was no longer seen moving on its accustomed rounds, and his face no longer looked benignantly upon the young in their innocent sports, or gave its benediction to friends as he passed them by. Such men as he are the crown of the community in which they dwell, and when they are seen no more, we ask for it no greater blessing, than that the living who have witnessed their virtues, should study their example, and tread in their faithful steps.

LATEST DAYS, AND CHARACTER.

There is a picture which represents a child and an aged man going down together to the river of death. The child presses forward in eager haste, with no sensation, because he has had no experience of fear. The man moves on with steady step, and serene face, bearing a lamp and a cross. There is a true serenity, a ripened beauty, in a genial, thoughtful, Christian age, which surpasses the charm of youth. It rested upon the last years of Judge White to a remarkable degree. He moved calmly on into the vale of years, amid honor and respect, encircled by the love and reverence of children and of friends. His own feeling in respect to advancing age is indicated in a letter written a number of years before his death, when his children, after a vacation, had returned to College.

"We have few hearty laughs in your absence, but these become less and less the constituents of true enjoyment as we advance in life, yet never unwelcome, unless unseasonable.—E. may miss your exciting merriment more than I do; yet I often enjoy it, without seeming to partake of it, and all the more for its reviving a recollection of early life when I entered into the spirit of social merriment as heartily as either of you can now. Different persons feel very

differently as they grow old in respect to scenes of mirth and gay amusements, according as their spirits have been more or less exposed to the chilling blasts of adversity and affliction. Some continue almost to the end of a long life with little experience of these—the circle of their early friends and intimate connections remaining to them nearly unbroken; and they may well continue to enjoy the gayeties which have seldom been interrupted by sorrow and suffering. Others are so frequently and severely bereaved as to lose all taste and relish for the amusements of life, and almost to acquire a habit of sober thought and feeling, which, to superficial observers, bears the appearance of opposition to all hilarity of soul. There are very few, I believe, however smoothly the current of life may run, whose spirits are not chastened by their experience and reflection into some degree of sobriety of manner and feeling as they advance in life, beyond what they before manifested. This at least is becoming in all, and the surest prognostic of a *green old age*, which is far different from a *frolicksome* one, and which naturally results from reflection and wisdom in the earlier periods of life."

He had himself secured the reflection, and gained the wisdom, to make his own old age green. The tree was planted by the living springs, and the freshness of its leaf did not fade. By a steadfast observance of the laws of health he regained the vigor which had been almost sacrificed by excessive study in youth, and his step was elastic and firm almost to the end. A young man who was with him on his last visit to Cambridge could scarcely keep pace with his rapid walk. His youthfulness of face was long retained. His hair was slightly silvered. When a member of one of his old Cambridge Classes said to him on his reaching his seventieth year, "you look about as you did when I recited Latin to you in College"—he writes in his diary—"A compliment indeed to my *early* looks." He looked genially upon youthful sports, and thankfully upon Nature's beauty, during the last months of his life, making such entries as these in his journal: "Had pleasant walks A. M. and P. M. The Common alive with Cricket players." "Took a little walk with wife in the street to and fro, to enjoy the delightful moon playing hide and seek with the passing clouds." His mind retained its noonday strength, and his pen was as active in age as in youth. On account of the intimate associations which he had held with many distinguished men, and the accuracy of his memory, he was constantly called upon during his later years to contribute his reminiscences respecting them. He was as a treasure-house from which the richest gifts could be drawn to illustrate their character, or adorn their memory. He freely met such calls as these, sometimes answering them at length, especially in respect to Professors Frisbie and Popkin, Dr. Channing, Judge Parsons, and Dr. Pearson of Andover. Many briefer Obituary notices came from his

pen. One of these, published in the Salem Gazette of July 21, 1846, was upon Miss Mehitable Higginson, the sixth in descent from Rev. Francis Higginson, the first minister of the First Church, and the last person of that name in the City. In his diary, July 20th, 1846, he writes:

"Passed forenoon mostly in completing my obituary Notice of Miss Higginson, whose worth and excellence as a teacher I endeavored to set forth as an example to others, as well as to make them better known and appreciated, having ever regarded her as one of the choicest blessings Salem ever had." He then speaks of her *great service* in the moral training of the children under her charge, and adds, "I feel her loss, and am grateful for her lessons and efforts for my own children. Her whole history, as well as ancestry, is interesting."

At a later period, he prepared his "Notices of the First Church in Salem and its Ministers from 1629 to 1853," appended to a Sermon preached at the Installation of its present minister; and his "Brief Memoir of the Plummer Family." Later still, when he was in his eighty second year, he wrote a letter in reference to the will of his friend and brother Joseph Hurd, and the final result of the trial of the case respecting it before Judge Thomas of Lowell, which was published in the Boston Daily Advertiser, May 20th, 1858, and pronounced a wonderfully condensed piece of logic. He revived his youthful friendships with beloved classmates; for it was a remarkable fact in respect to his Class, that the five who stood highest in scholarship lived to a very advanced age. They responded to his greeting with equal love; one of them, most honored, perhaps, of all, writing, "I walk in the flower garden of my twenty-one grandchildren, and two great grandchildren, and my wife leans on my arm. We study to be content, and ought to be thankful." He remembered Atkinson Academy, where he fitted for College, and sent a gift of books to it on April 1, 1860, as a token of his love. Many days in the year became anniversaries, reviving beautiful memories of pleasant events in his own history, or sacred memories of friends, earlier or later dead, which were noted in his Journal in such words as these: "Fifty-five years ago this day since my College classmate and chum, Jabez Kimball, died. A noble hearted man." "Recollections of the best hours of life" came in multiplying throngs, bringing their lamps to cheer his later days. Grandchildren already unfolding high powers in life's work, or amidst College studies, occasionally came to his home to receive his benediction, and to find new inspiration in his counsels.

But the end drew near. Only a short time after he left College, in a letter to a classmate who had met a very sad bereavement, he said, "I have often

thought it an instance of the great goodness of God that we are, for the most part, brought to the grave by such mild and gentle gradations as to lose in ourselves all horror of death, and to render less poignant the sorrow of surviving friends. In the glow of health the thought of dying can scarcely be endured; but by a gradually wasting sickness the mind becomes familiarized to it; the love of life is kindly weakened, and death is only the last link of a long series of changes. 'Resignation gently slopes the way.' " His words were prophetic of his own experience. The way had been gradually prepared for himself by the departure of classmates, cotemporaries and friends. But the death of his daughter, Mrs. Foote, Dec. 24th, 1857, had a deeper influence than all. His other daughter, always an equally bright and welcome presence, resided in another town, and could not be constantly near him. Mrs. Foote was his daily sunshine. They interchanged visits almost every day. Equally remarkable for conversational powers, they were inspirations to each others' mind in the affectionate intercourse of father and child. But he bowed without a murmur to the will of God. On the day of her death he writes in his Journal, "So the day has passed; may the deep emotions and the tears, and profound reflections, and religious impressions, all be blessed to our own highest good." She was with him still in memory and love. He felt the truth of the following words from a classmate when speaking of his own departed daughter: "Here is a tie of the purest kind, unbroken, and to be unbroken forever, to which the heart can turn for solace, from every jar within and without. It is really treasure laid up in Heaven; a treasure of good thoughts and affections, free from all the dross of our nature, and never recurred to without gratitude to God. From the constant presence of my daughter in my heart, I feel as if she must be ever with me, whether in life or death, and a part of me always." Still life had no longer the same charm for him. Months afterward he said to a friend, "Much of the sunniness of Salem has been taken away by Mary's death;" and he felt, in the language of the classmate to whom reference has just been made, that the event had "more than half averted his eyes from the pre-accustomed sources of happiness."

During a sickness a year or two later, from which he slowly rallied, he expressed a wish that his time might then come, rather than that life should be lengthened with the probable diminution of strength. When a friend said, "There are many things which you will enjoy if you get well," he quickly answered, "O yes, I should like to see old friends again on Commencement Day," which was then close at hand. And he did see them again. He clung to them till

the pulse beat no longer. But the heavens had been more distinctly revealed by his daughter's death, and it was the unconscious influence of this event, perhaps, rather than the dread of increasing weakness, that made him more ready to unloose the clasp of earthly hands.

When the last weeks and days came, "Resignation gently sloped the way." He made every disposition of his worldly affairs with perfect calmness and clearness of mind. He recalled all his dear ones and friends, and set apart tokens of love for each and all. He was fully alive to the best interests of the world, and the welfare of country. He cordially welcomed friends to his chamber. His messages of love were more tender than ever. He listened to favorite passages of Scripture, read by son or daughter, with deep emotion. As the fatal disease went on he would write in his diary, "Feel no better; yet thankful for the many mercies I enjoy." Many men have been equally serene. More serene no man could be. He rested upon no theory or hope of his own, not relying even upon the thought that he should meet his beloved ones again. He lay like a little child in his father's hand, repeating oft, or listening to the words of his favorite hymn:

"My God, I thank thee; may no thought
E'er deem thy chastisements severe."

That hymn embodied his own religious life. In youth, as he walked around his father's farm, amid the beauty of Nature which then sank into his heart, he learned to feel the truth of the words:

"Thy mercy bids all nature bloom;
The sun shines bright, and man is gay."

Amidst the chastenings of many a deep experience he learned equally to feel the truth of those other lines:

"Thine equal mercy spreads the gloom
Which darkens o'er my little day,"

until those words "Thine equal mercy," were always hymning themselves in his heart, or ready to drop from his lips.

Except a request for water, these were his last words. He had been able to sit in his chair till the last day. On that morning, yielding to his physician's advice, he remained in bed, with wife and children and grandchildren about him, to accompany him to the river's side. He heard the tidings of the death of Judge Shaw, less than an hour before his own departure, and said, "It is a good time." He had learned long ago to bear the cross. The lamp was in his hand as he stepped into the river's brink. And so he fell asleep, with a smile upon his countenance, "and soon," in the words of filial piety watching

his ascension, "his face shone as if it had been the face of an angel." He died March 30th, 1861, aged 84 years, 9 months, and 23 days. His funeral was at the First Church, April 2nd, and his body was laid in the Cemetery of Harmony Grove.

In attempting to delineate the features of his character, it is difficult fully to picture the impressions which they made. There were strong elements in his nature which it may have required a struggle to discipline in earlier days. He was capable of intense moral indignation at injustice, or narrowness, or meanness, in their every form. He had the power of denouncing them in words that pierced like swords. Perhaps if he had remained in public life, he would have been too honest and outspoken to retain uninterrupted favor, though he might have always commanded the most absolute respect and confidence. But if there were struggles in earlier life, his last days only exhibited the victory. There seemed to be a rare mental and moral balance in his character. No man left the impression of a more absolute integrity. No injustice had a place in his heart. Sinister purposes and aims would have shrunk before his uprightness. Indeed, he was one of those whose "sphere" called out the best thoughts from other minds, and the noblest traits in their character, and unconsciously constrained other souls to put on their best robes in his presence. He was a man of childlike simplicity. With characteristic modesty he never displayed his wealth of literary acquisitions until called upon to impart of his ample store; and then he opened all his treasures as freely as he opened his hand to bestow his gifts of charity. The record of his life is a record of good deeds. Perhaps he may have seemed reserved to those who knew him but slightly. He never seemed so to the children whom he would stop to greet in his walks, and to cheer with kindly words, or to the children who were visitors at his home. He never seemed so to friends. The sunshine of his look fell upon them with no eclipse. No other word than benignity can express the aspect which his countenance wore for them. The tree "bore twelve manner of fruits," because its roots were fed from the river of life. A devout attendant at church, when both his theological attainments and his christian experience made it far more fitting for him to preach than to listen; an habitual student of the Scriptures from his youth; thoughtful, reverent always; sitting daily at his Master's feet, asking the guidance of his Father's hand, he lived in trust and faith, till faith was changed to sight.

Few men have had more honorable tributes of respect and love than were spontaneously offered to his memory. One friend writes, "His presence al-

ways seemed to me like a benediction, and it is no exaggeration to say, that an atmosphere of goodness ever surrounded him, which I always felt whenever I was fortunate enough to be near him." Another says, "I remember well the veneration with which I looked upon him more than twenty years ago, and from that day to the last time I met him, I have looked upon him as an example to his race." These were men many years younger than himself. Those who more nearly approached his own age offered similar tributes. One speaks of his "gratitude for the indulgence exhibited by his tutor more than sixty years before, and his admiration for the faithfulness of the Judge." Another quotes the opinion which he had heard expressed by a friend before his own personal acquaintance, "That Judge White was one of the most perfect specimens of humanity he had known," and then adds, "When I came to know him myself, I could easily understand the grounds of such an opinion. When I was with him I always felt myself under an attractive influence which I had neither the disposition, nor the ability to resist. His excellent sense and varied information, and fine colloquial powers, and genial, generous spirit, always acted as a charm upon me." And a most beloved classmate writes, "I have now lost my warm-hearted and affectionate correspondent, whose purity and intelligence were a constant refreshment to think of, and whose tastes and opinions were more in sympathy with my own than those of any other man of my time. In many respects I have seen no person like him, no person so unvarying for so long a life, the delicacy and susceptibility of his affections continuing the same from my first acquaintance with him. The remembrance of him must be a store of sacred thoughts, as well as of honorable and wise principles to his descendants. It will be to me while I live. Let those who were nearest to him know how deeply I respected and loved him, and how truly through our long lives, the intercourse between us, which began in these sentiments, was without jar, or shadow to the end."

There were very many kindred voices, but all spoke in the same tone, and between their testimonies, there was no "jar."

A more faithful or kinder parishioner no minister ever had. A truer or more honored friend we have never known. It is a blessing to recall his memory, though it renews the grief for his loss, and compels those who loved him, in his own chosen words respecting President Willard, "to weep most of all that they shall see his face no more."